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# I. F. Stone's Weekly

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# The Victory No One Mentioned on Telestar

Every communication carries two messages, what it says and what it fails to say. Often the latter is the more important. This was the case with the first Presidential press conference to be seen in Western Europe on Telestar. A few hours before, a big event had taken place. That morning, in Geneva, 14 countries had put their signatures to a final agreement on Laos. In a world grown sick of stale controversy and deadlock, bored with Berlin and fatalistic about nuclear testing, this was something of a miracle. East and West, capitalist, Communist and neutralist, had managed for once to agree. Countries hardly on speaking terms, some in a state of undeclared war with each other, met and signed. Not only the U.S. and Russia, but the U.S. and Communist China, not only Cambodia and its ancient enemy Thailand, but North and South Vietnam. It was the first victory for peace in many months. It was the fruition of an agreement Kennedy and Khrushchev had reached a year earlier in Vienna, the first hopeful result of an otherwise traumatic meeting. It was the first time Washington and Peking, though they do not recognize each other, had jointly signed a treaty. Yet the President did not mention it, and no reporter asked about it.

### All With The Same Freudian Slip

This was what Telestar inadvertently beamed to the outside world. It told a lot, unfortunately, about our country. President Kennedy deserves credit for the Laotion pact, how much may never be known; it required reining in CIA agents hostile to a settlement, curbing a military bureaucracy which regards relaxation of tension as a threat, reversing State Department machinery geared only to cold war. All these elements saw the negotiation of peace in Laos as a defeat. But Mr. Kennedy, with a politician's sensitivity, may have felt it was best not to take credit for this one. It was not the kind of victory his friend, Mr. Luce, likes to celebrate on the cover of *Life*. The press corps, in not even asking about it, accurately reflected the temper of the country, largely indifferent or ignorant, conditioned to think of peace as a suspect word and coalition with Communists as heretical. We have grown used to having our own way, and in Laos we had, painfully, to back down. The rest of the world may find it cheering. For us it was a painful experience, and best forgotten. The press and the President forgot it.

For the perceptive abroad, Telestar's message was that ours is not a nation which can be expected to lead the world toward peace; we need to be pushed, not followed. We can only hope that other nations will push us now toward a settlement in South Vietnam. Though Americans have begun to die in its jungles, no one stood up to ask the President the obvious question. Since the same nations, the same elements, are involved in the Vietnamese as in the Laotion civil war, why can't we try to negotiate peace there, too?

Some viewers abroad may have linked that telecast with another picture. Mr. Luce's *Time* magazine goes all over the world. Its July 20 issue showed two young Vietnamese being led off to be tortured under the gaze of an American adviser. It related how the jaw of one boy "was forced open and five gallons of water from a rusty can gradually poured into his mouth", and how "the youth gagged and screamed but refused to talk." Thus what the French called "the gangrene" of torture, which tainted their cause in Algeria, also poisons ours in Vietnam. One Congressman, Robert W. Kastenmeier, a young Wisconsin Democrat, sent the President a letter asking that "before we begin the slow descent to a moral level where men pass off reports of torture with indifference and impatience, actions be taken to halt our complicity in these inhuman practices." The protest was released the day before the press conference. All but a few papers ignored it. No reporter asked the President about that picture in *Time* magazine. As a nation we go into a pious tizzy about school prayers but a little torture in our private war raises hardly a ripple. This, too, showed through on Telestar.

### Europe's New Defender

**Every one of our generals has a press claque, and every appointee is at once hailed as a brilliant soldier. It is difficult to judge them. But in the case of Lyman L. Lemnitzer, nominated by the President to be the new Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, we do have some experience to go by. Gen. Lemnitzer was chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff during the Cuban invasion. That was a resounding failure. In any private business, an executive who failed that dismally would have been fired. Here is a huge military bureaucracy with almost 50 billion dollars a year to spend. It has so many intelligence agencies it has trouble keeping them out of each other's hair. The task was to establish a big enough beachhead in Cuba to put a rival government on it, and give ourselves an excuse for more open intervention. Cuba is only 90 miles away. The place is full of U.S. agents. Conventional arms and familiar problems were involved, the kind freshmen study at West Point. Yet the military, for whom Gen. Lemnitzer was the top executive, misjudged, miscalculated and misfired. We're glad they did; we're glad our country was saved from a greater crime against Cuba. But if we were a West European we wouldn't feel at all comfortable about having in command against Khrushchev a general who couldn't handle Castro.**



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**What Seemed to Thrill the Russians Most Was Mention of Their 100-Megaton Bomb**

# Bertrand Russell's Personal Representative Reports on Moscow Meeting

*We thought our readers would like to see the report brought back from Moscow by Chris Farley, secretary of the British Committee of 100, who attended the peace congress there as Bertrand Russell's personal representative. What follows is from his interview by members of the London Peace News staff in its July 20 issue:*

**Q. You went to Moscow with certain ideas of what you expected to find. Could you tell us how much the Congress differed from what you expected?**

A. I think most of us from the 'non-aligned' peace movements went to the peace congress feeling that this was going to be very largely a meeting of communists and fellow travellers, a meeting too that was so formal in structure that very little of value could possibly come out of it. We expected some sort of statement at the end which would say that sin is sinful, to which anybody could put their name.

And we got that, though the statement that did finally come out of the congress was rather more liberal than we expected. It condemned all tests though it named no governments specifically, and presumably was not sufficiently an embarrassment to communist governments for them not to be able to ignore or absorb such condemnation. Nevertheless, the final statement was, I think, a small contribution toward liberalism in the communist countries and may have been a small check on the military and the Stalinists. Certainly it is significant that the Chinese accepted a statement which contained no mention of colonialism, and didn't name the U.S. specifically as the chief perpetrator of wickness in the world.

**Q. What was the tone of the congress itself?**

A. Many of the speeches were much as anticipated. They "knew" that Washington was the source of all wrong-doing in the world and that Moscow was the champion of the oppressed. So little time was given to most people to speak that it was difficult to develop this line very seriously or very individually. I think we were surprised by the number of people who managed to get in a dissenting voice, a genuinely neutralist voice, and I think these people clearly made an impression.

Certain set speeches were sure fire winners; it's worth mentioning these. Any mention of China having a seat in the UN, the Nazis in office in West Germany, references to any of the recent conflict areas Cuba, Angola and particularly Algeria. There was no end to the applause machine which greeted these things however often they came out.

There was one very interesting experience. We had had all Monday and Tuesday in plenary session, and on Tuesday evening we broke up for the first time into commissions and each of these commissions contained 400-600 people, which is still a very large unit for serious discussion.

I went to the fourth commission which dealt with a vast range of subjects—moral, legal, cultural aspects of warfare and so on. The chairman, who was an American, a good man, a Quaker, made a personal speech which was not very controversial. He then said, now it's time for speeches from the floor, let's have the first one. Whereupon his right hand man said, wait a minute, and took a piece of paper from his pocket, and the chairman said, no, I see we've got a list of speakers and called the first speaker, a Soviet professor, who spoke for 25 minutes.

By this time a lot of people in the audience, particularly people from the US, people who haven't got this congress platform tradition, were really angry and the meeting broke up in disorder, people challenging the platform and wanting to make points of order. The chairman couldn't control things.

I was personally happy that there was this disorder, not because I wanted people to come 6,000 miles to waste their time, but because I felt it was a healthy reaction to the vast authoritarianism of the plenary session and even of this subcommission.

In some of the subcommissions there were some useful speeches. Time was again short but in the first commission a genuinely neutralist position on testing was put quite clearly on several occasions. It was possible for a Ceylonese to talk about a direct action project—sailing a boat into the Pacific.

**Q. Could you tell us something about the reaction to the non-aligned speeches?**

A. There was substantial applause for many speeches, but I got the impression that people who were genuinely non-aligned were so relieved to hear this point of view that they clapped out of all proportion to their numerical strength. In actual fact I feel that, in contrast to the vast, and obviously spontaneous and heated, applause which greeted Khrushchev's statement that Russia's got 100-megaton bombs plus, sober, carefully thought out neutralist speeches, which obviously don't inspire great excitement, received little response.

There's an interesting way of judging this. There were many references during first morning to Russell, to his fight with the Labour Party leadership, putting the war question before his membership of the party, having been a leader of the peace movement who was prepared to take personal risks —he was a great hero. When Russell's tape was played on Monday afternoon and everybody realized he was a neutralist, nobody was really interested and there was polite, restrained applause for a few seconds at the end.

**Q. Did anything significant come out in the speeches from the recently ex-colonial countries?**

A. I didn't get the impression that most delegates from the supposedly non-aligned countries wanted to be non-aligned or felt that they would be more useful in the cold war if they were non-aligned.

**Q. Was there any difference between the public face of the congress and the private face? Did you find any chance of getting further in informal discussion?**

A. In private discussion it was possible to locate the dissenting voices in some of the delegations—the few Gandhians among the Indian Peace Committee people, the non-aligned Americans, the single East German who deviated slightly from the line, most of these were contained by or swallowed up in the full congress, and of course the very crowded time-table discouraged much private searching. In private it was admitted that there had been serious disagreements inside the Soviet Peace Committee when Russia resumed testing last autumn; but no one would have guessed this from the Russian's applause at Khrushchev's pride in his bombs of 100 megatons and more.

## British Medical Rebuke to AMA

**"The British Medical Journal today carries a strongly worded attack on the 'cheapness and vulgarity' of the American Medical Association's progaganda against the British National Health Service. It comments:**

**" 'We have watched with some dismay the mushroom growth of the AMA's public relations activities and the colossal sums spent by it to defeat what our American colleagues call "socialized medicine." The dismay is at the probably inherent weakness of American medical services if such a vast effort has to be expanded on misrepresentation of what is happening in Britain.**

**" 'We do not recall that those who favored the introduction of the NHS [British National Health Service] buttressed their case by distorted propaganda against such abuses as American doctors themselves have admitted—fee splitting, overcharging, unnecessary operations sending patients to "physician-owned drug stores" and so forth'."**

*—The Guardian (London and Manchester) July 13.*

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**National Press Club Address Provides Backdrop to the Historic Struggle in Albany, Ga.**

# Dr. King Eloquently Explains the New Negro and the Non-Violent Creed

**By Rev. Martin Luther King***

Probably the most powerful force that is breaking down the barriers of segregation is the new determination of the Negro himself. For many years the Negro tacitly accepted segregation. He was often the victim of stagnant passivity and deadening complacency. But through the forces of history something happened to the Negro. The social upheavals of two world wars, the great depression, and the spread of the automobile have made it both possible and necessary for the Negro to move away from his former isolation on the rural plantation. The decline of agriculture and parallel growth of industry have drawn large numbers of Negroes to urban centers and brought about a gradual improvement in their economic status. Once plagued with a tragic sense of inferiority resulting from the crippling effects of slavery and segregation, the Negro has now been driven to re-evaluate himself. He has come to feel that he is somebody. With this new sense of somebodiness and self-respect, a new Negro has emerged with a new determination to achieve freedom and human dignity whatever the cost may be.

This is the true meaning of the struggle that is taking place in the South today. One cannot understand the Montgomery bus boycott, the sit-ins, and the Albany, Georgia movement without understanding that there is a new Negro on the scene with a new sense of dignity and destiny. Thousands of Negroes have come to see that it is ultimately more honorable to suffer indignity than accept segregation in humiliation.

## Every Class Involved

A special feature of our struggle is its universal quality. Every social strata is involved—lower, middle and upper class. Every age—children, teenagers, adults and senior citizens. The whole nation was startled by the Montgomery bus protest in 1956—chiefly because every Negro allied himself in the cause with firm discipline. The same universal involvement is now appearing in Albany, Georgia. Last December more than seven hundred Negroes from this community willingly went to jail to create an effective protest. I shall never forget this experience in which elderly women over 70, young teenagers and middle-aged adults crowded the jail cells—some with professional degrees in medicine, law and education—some simple housekeepers and laborers; others from business—all differences of age and social status, but all united around one objective.

Fortunately, the Negro has been willing to grapple with a creative and powerful force in his struggle for racial justice, namely, nonviolent resistance. This does not mean that a new method has come into being to serve as a substitute for litigation and legislation. But those who adhere to the method of nonviolent direct action recognize that legislation and court orders tend only to declare rights; they can never thoroughly deliver them. Only when the people themselves begin to act are rights on paper given life blood. A catalyst is needed to breathe life experience into a judicial decision by the persistent exercise of the rights until they become usual and ordinary in human conduct.

The method of nonviolent resistance is effective in that it has a way of disarming the opponent, it exposes his moral defenses, it weakens his morale and at the same time it works on his conscience.

It also makes it possible for the individual to struggle to secure moral ends through moral means. One of the most persistent philosophical debates of the centuries has been over the question of ends and means. There have been those from Macchiavelli on down who have argued that the end justifies the means. This, I feel, is one of the great tragedies of Communism. This is where nonviolence breaks with Communism and any other method which contends that the end justifies the means. In a real sense, the means represent the ideal in the making and the end in process. So in the long run destructive means cannot bring about constructive ends, because the end is pre-existent in the means.

Nonviolent resistance also provides a creative force through which men can channelize their discontent. It does not require that they abandon their discontent. This discontent is sound and healthy. Nonviolence saves it from degenerating into morbid bitterness and hatred. Hate is always tragic. It is as injurious to the hater as it is to the hated. It distorts the personality and scars the soul. Psychiatrists are telling us now that many of the inner conflicts and strange things that happen in the subconscious are rooted in hate. So they are now saying, "love or perish." This is the beauty of nonviolence. It says you can struggle without hating; you can fight war without violence.

This approach to the problem is not without successful precedent. We have the magnificent example of Gandhi who challenged the might of the British empire and won independence for his people by using only the weapons of truth, noninjury, courage and soul force. Today we have the noble example of thousands of Negro students who have nonviolently challenged segregation. Their courageous and disciplined activities have come as a refreshing oasis in a desert sweltering with the heat of injustice. One day all of America will be proud of their achievements.

Our goal is freedom. I believe we will win it because the goal of the nation is freedom. Yet we are not passively waiting for a deliverance to come from others moved by their pity for us. Our destiny is bound up with the destiny of America—we built it for two centuries without wages, we made cotton king, we built our homes and homes for our masters and suffered injustice and humiliation—but out of a bottomless vitality continued to live and grow. If the inexpressible cruelties of slavery could not extinguish our existence, the opposition we now face will surely fail. We feel that we are the conscience of America—we are its troubled soul.

*** Abridged from the speech made by Dr. King before the National Press Club in Washington July 19 before returning to lead the historic struggle in Albany, Ga.**

### Black Muslim "Massacre" in Los Angeles

**Waiting in the wings should non-violence fail are groups like the Black Muslims who reject integration altogether. Strong sympathy has been aroused for them in the Negro community by an incident in Los Angeles to which attention is being called in a protest letter sent out by a group of whites, including the anthropologists, Kathleen and David Aberlee, Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy of the Monthly Review, the writer Truman Nelson and Grace Lee, a Detroit editor.**

**On April 27, Ronald T. X. Stokes, secretary of the Muslim League in Los Angeles and six other Negroes, all unarmed, were shot by the people outside their Temple. The policeman who shot and killed Stokes, and testified to a Coroner's Jury that he "shot three or four others," was absolved for "justifiable homicide." Instead an all-white Grand Jury has indicted nine Muslims for "criminal assault against the police." A picture in the Los Angeles Times the day after the shootings showed the Negro victims lying on the ground wounded and handcuffed and the caption said the scene looked like Algiers. Negro organizations all over the country are protesting the shootings and their aftermath, but so far there has been little protest from the white community, or notice in the white press.**



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**A Rigged Poll on Shelters; Hope on Test Detection; Clemency for Morton Sobell**

# Medicare's Defeat Shows We Suffer, Like Latin America, From Oligarchy

WE NEED AN ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS AT HOME: The defeat of the mild and inadequate medicare bill shows we suffer at home from evils much like those we are trying to correct in Latin America. Here, too, an oligarchy in a one-party area, the South, dominated by large landowners, was powerful enough to block aid for the underprivileged, in this case the needy aged. Multimillionaire Senator Kerr led the fight against medicare, just as wealthy *latifundistas* oppose social reform in Brazil and Peru. Republicans from industrial states where the poorer classes can and do vote joined with Northern Democrats for it. The remedy lies in measures more fundamental than the Republican defeats asked by Mr. Kennedy. The remedy lies in enforcing the Negro's right to vote, in breaking the apathy of the poor white, in ending the one party system in the South, and easing out the arrogant old fossils whose key committee posts give them oligarchic veto powers.

DOES THE PUBLIC FAVOR SHELTERS? That Elmo Roper poll for the Office of Civil Defense which purports to show overwhelming support for the community fallout shelter program seems to have been tailored as so many polls are to meet the needs of the client paying the bill. It found 77 percent in favor but as *Science* (July 20) points out in a skeptical editorial these "findings conflict sharply with virtually every poll that Congressmen have conducted among their constituents." As a result Congress seems to have shelved the program, for this session anyway.

NEW BREAK-THROUGH IN TEST DETECTION: That Defense Dept. release two weeks ago on improvement in test detection methods was obscure, grudging and vague. It seems to have been issued under pressure from sources impatient with the Pentagon's determined pessimism. The *Sunday Times* of London July 22 provided the first public account of British progress in this field. "A new British method for detecting clandestine underground nuclear bomb tests," the *Sunday Times* reported, "is proving so effective that the Atomic Energy Authority has decided to build four stations in different parts of the world. It is estimated that 12 such stations would be sufficient to detect any secret Russian tests, and 20 stations would provide a world network." Stations of this type, according to the account from London, could distinguish from earthquakes any bombs over 20 kilotons "whatever steps were taken to disguise them" and detect all underground explosions over 5 kilotons "whatever steps were taken to mask the explosion." This is very different from the 180-station network earlier projected. It would make policing possible by a neutral network, though it would not eliminate the need for some inspection in case of dispute.

**The 'Inspection' No One Mentions In Test Ban Treaty Discussion**

**"Secretary of Defense McNamara ordered the cancellation today of the Navy's work on what would have been the world's largest movable radio telescope. . . . The action also brought to an end a highly secret, highly unusual episode in the new art of electronic espionage. The primary purpose of the radio telescope was to have been to eavesdrop on radio messages within the Soviet Union, with the moon as a relay point. . . .**

**"In effect, the project was bypassed by advances in electronic and satellite technology Officials said it had been concluded that many of the secret military missions originally to be performed by the radio telescope could not be carried out by new electronic instruments and satellites. . . ."**

*—John W. Finney from Washington, N.Y. Times Jul. 19*

NEW FBI CHIEF? J. Edgar Hoover at 67 is only three years from compulsory retirement and right wingers seem to be fearful lest a liberal replace him. Republican Majority Leader Dirksen has put in a bill providing that the directorship of the FBI shall be a Presidential appointment for a 15-year term, and subject to Senate approval as is the head of the CIA. At present the FBI chief is a civil servant removable at the will of the Attorney General. In practice, no Attorney General would dare remove Mr. Hoover from the post he has held for 38 years. This is much too long for any head of a secret agency with the wide powers of the FBI. The advantage of the Dirksen bill is that it would set some time limit and provide some check through Senate hearings and debate on the character of the nominee. We believe a shorter term would be wiser, and hope Senate liberals will force hearings and full consideration of the bill itself. Such hearings could focus attention on the fact that secret police agencies like the FBI and the CIA exert a power that is a potential threat to free government; limited terms and Senate confirmation are minimal checks upon this danger.

TIME TO FREE MORTON SOBELL: The Federal Parole Board having turned down Morton Sobell's application, we hope the President and the Attorney General will grant clemency. Innocent or guilty, the ten years he has served are a most heavy penalty for the tenuous conspiracy to commit espionage charges on which he went to prison. Mercy is long overdue.

***Off on Vacation—No Weekly in August—Next Issue Labor Day***

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